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When they have anointed the bridegroom, they anoint his follower, and last of all they anoint the conductress of ceremonies. When they have again drunk two leaf-cups of beer each, they separate and go home. But from this day until the marriage is finished the young men and girls dance day and night. [302] [535]

After three days the time for going with the bridegroom comes. The father of the bridegroom then at cock-crow pours out one earthenware pot full of "intimation" beer, and calling the village headman and his deputy, the Jog Mañjhi and his deputy he gives them beer. [273]

While they are drinking, the village headman asks the bridegroom's father: Look here, what beer is this? We do not find the malted grain. "Malted grain" is a metaphorical word, viz., the explanation of the matter, why he has brought them there. The father of the bridegroom then says in reply: Help us to-day to follow the bridegroom, the day fixed has come. The village headman then says to the Jog Mañjhi: Do call the village people together. He sends the Godet, who brings all there. They give beer to all. The bridegroom's father says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please get hold of five men for me. He brings them, and the bridegroom's father says: Do bring food out for us the bridegroom's party, rice, curry, salt, and five pots of beer; when it is light we shall send forerunners in advance; and at the same time they take along one goat and one pot of beer, three half-seers of rice (if the bride-price is five rupees, then five half-seers of rice), three branches of the root of turmeric, tobacco, salt, and oil in a small earthenware vessel, the last mentioned things are obligatory presents, that is to say, they call them materials for offering to the bongas.

When the forerunners have had food, they take all the things mentioned along in advance. When they reach there, one of them goes to the house where the marriage is to be held. Here also they have set up a marriage-shed and have worked as in the bridegroom's village. The man says: How is it, Sir, we the forerunners have come. The bride's father then says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please show them where to stay. The Jog Mañjhi then takes the forerunners to where they have made sheds for the bridegroom's party. He gives them earthenware pots for water and cooking, a flat basket, wooden ladles, firewood, leaf-plates, and leaf-cups; thereupon he returns to the house of marriage.

After they have sent the forerunners off, the people of the bridegroom's village, men and women, go to have "water-marriage". The bridegroom's mother takes a flat basket along. In this there is sun-dried paddy, sun-dried rice, a bunch of dhubi grass, one egg, oil, and sindur and one ball of thread. The wife of the bridegroom's father's younger brother carries a sword, and his paternal aunt carries bow and arrows. Two anointing girls carry on their heads narrow-necked earthenware pots resting on pads of thread, having covered them up with clothes for the bride; these two pots they call omen-pots. A brother-in-law [604] [607]

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[539]

You know, Father, there
They are casting wristlets;
You know, Father, there
Are those who buy and trade in diamonds and pearls.

The bride's people then say: Sirs, you have taken hold of the village headman to buy for you; in connexion with this something more is to be paid; you must pay this. The bridegroom's party say: How much will have to be paid, Sir? It is said, one four-anna bit, four annas are to be paid. The bridegroom's party answer: What shall we do then? if it has to be paid, shall we not give it, Sir? The Jǫg Mạṅjhi then says to them: Out with it then. They now give into the Jǫg Mạṅjhi's hand one rupee, the marriage-shed fee for the village headman. The Jǫg Mạṅjhi receives this rupee and salutes the village people, and as he salutes, he says: This is the rupee to snap the foot-rope of the bed of the father's younger brother[59]. After this he also salutes the bridegroom's party all round. The poured-out beer and the squeezed-out beer of the bridegroom's party and the beer that the headman brought out, they have drunk up while they have been talking. Of the poured-out beer the village headman got two leaf-cups.

Now the village headman on the bride's side says: So far as this place is concerned, I presume we have done all well or how? The bridegroom's party answer: Yes, we are likely to have done it well. The Jǫg Mạṅjhi stands up and says: Our so and so headman, Sir! (he addresses the village headman of the bridegroom's side by name) Come, we shall stretch the end of our spine a little. All there then stand up, and the bridegroom's party salute all the village people there, one after the other, commencing from the headman, and then go to their lodgings.

Now the Jǫg Mạṅjhi calls out to three men among these: Honoured bridegroom's party, please come along with me some three men of you. He takes them into the house of the village headman. They sit down there, and they give them each two leaf-cups of beer, good beer. They drink this; thereupon they give them what is customary right: One pot of beer, a full one, twelve seers of rice, one solid brass arm-ring, one four-leaves-cup full of split peas, some three branches of the root of turmeric, tobacco, and salt. Of this rice the Jǫg Mạṅjhi measures out again for himself one seer. Thereupon these three men also go to their lodgings, taking all these things with them.

Now the Jǫg Mạṅjhi says to the bride's people: Come, we shall gather the people of the village, we shall have the waving ceremony. He then sends the Goḍet to call the village people together. He himself, keeping a loṭa with water on a leaf-plate on the palm of his hand, goes to the bridegroom's party and says to them: Come along,

[604]
[593]

[59] The father's younger brother is fig. for the village headman. The whole expression is said to imply that the last tie by which the bride is bound to her parental home is broken.

2: Skrefterud M-S (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

IV. WHEN A MARRIED SON LIVES IN THE HOUSE OF HIS FATHER

a. Brothers living together.

Santals do not at once, when getting married, set up separate households; they stay in the house of the man's parents. If a man moves away to live in the house of his father-in-law, they blame him very much, and such a man will not afterwards get any share of the inheritance. Some people will, because they are annoyed beyond sufferance, perform the final funeral ceremonies for such a son. Nowadays a few men will give them a share of the original property; but this is only a favour; formerly they had no right to this. 428 591

Until the father makes his sons set up separate households, they work together, eat together. The parents of the young men look upon their daughters-in-law as their own daughters. Among his sons the father will love the oldest son most, provided he is good, and the mother will love her youngest child most. The young men with their wives honour their uncles and aunts like their own parents, and these look upon them as their own children. 591 593 606 604

The father guides, instructs and tutors his sons, and the mother does the same with her daughters-in-law and daughters. The younger daughters-in-law address the elder daughters-in-law as elder sisters and obey their word like that of their mother-in-law; the elder daughters-in-law address the younger ones, saying "girl" to them, and look upon them as younger sisters. When the parents have lost their strength, the eldest son and the eldest daughter-in-law manage the household, and they have to stand up when the young ones misbehave or commit any fault. If the elder ones while living let the younger ones manage, awful quarrelings arise. The old man mostly scolds his wife if the work and business don't go well, and now and then he will also upbraid his sons, but never his daughters-in-law. Those who really start quarrels, are the mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, and the wives of the brothers, and through their quarrels brothers also become enemies. Santals say: "A mother-in-law, a bitter pumpkin, not tasty"; "a daughter-in-law, plugged ears, they don't hear"; "a daughter-in-law, a python snake, dragging themselves along, they do not move". Of the husbands of daughters they say: "A daughter's husband, crooked firewood, will be still more crooked"; "Another's child, a forest fowl, they will not become one's own". 593 606 607 [539]

An elder brother's wife and the younger brothers and sisters of her husband are great friends; they do not quarrel. Girls tell the wife of their elder brother everything, both 607

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g. To neutralize the effect of an eclipse.

821 428 604 593 To neutralize the effect of an eclipse is done as follows. In a year when an eclipse of the sun or the moon is taking place, a mother of children will say: Do, my sons or daughters, go for us to the family of your maternal uncle to neutralize the effect of the eclipse. If they live in the same village, they go that very day to the family of their maternal uncle. When they have reached there, they say: We have come, uncle, to neutralize the effects of the eclipse. They say to them: All right, my boy (or my girl). Now the mother of these children has brewed beer and takes this to her father's house; and they drink this, sharing some out as a libation. If her father is living, he says to her: What is it, my girl, that you have in mind and have brought? If her father is not living, her brothers will also ask her in the same way. She then says: You remember, your nephews or grandchildren came to neutralize the effets of the eclipse; it is in connexion with this that we have come. Now if the old man is alive, he calls all the boys together. If he is not alive, the brothers come together and consult each other. And they give them a fowl or a goat or a sheep or a pig. If these multiply, then only these children have a right to this property because the wives of all the sons fetch this eclipse-neutralizing from their father or brothers. Therefore the heirs on both sides have no right to get anything of the possible increase of these. Only of their own accord the brothers of both sides may give the children a bull- or a heifer calf. They say that formerly, when the cows or the sheep or goats multiplied in the home of a wife's father, and the girl was bringing this live stock from there to her husband's home, then the bonga of her father's home would also come along. Then if this bonga did not return, her husband would have to worship the bonga of the old home of his wife. [769]

h. About harvest perquisites.

421 562 The harvest perquisites are as follows: When a man's daughter, while unmarried, gets harvest perquisites, her father and brothers will lend her perquisites to somebody at 50 pot. And when these perquisites increase, and from this also cattle multiply, then at the time when her husband brings to his home what has multiplied in the old home of his wife, the bonga of some people will also, it is told, follow together with this property. Therefore some people do not let what they have remain there for a long time, fearing that the bongas will come along. And when anyone marries them, also the brothers of the husband have a right to the harvest perquisites property. But then the father and the brothers of the girl will call out to get a higher brideprice; because they say: We are sending with this our daughter or sister, or: what she owns, half our household. Therefore we shall take a higher brideprice, and of this you will not get anything in return. And when she acquires harvest perquisites after having become a widow or been divorced and this increases, then, in case friends apply for her and she is remarried, this woman alone has

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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4. Maternal uncle

In ceremonial functions, the maternal uncle takes the place of the guardian of the house, if the father or the brothers be dead. Thus the father stands first, next the paternal uncle, the maternal uncle holds the third place. The maternal uncle gets a marriage-present called *mama pòn* (bride-price, to be paid to the maternal uncle in case the father is not living).

5. Son-in-law

During certain *pujas*, the son-in-law of the family sacrifices goats, and during marriages he holds the basket of the bride (*dàurà*).[1]

As regards the mutual behaviour of relations, the Santals do not very much differ from the Hindus. Thus the mother is respected just according to Hindu ideologies. The brothers have friendly and fraternal feelings, and sisters are affectionately treated. The wife respects her husband like her lord. They have a folk-song which will illustrate the point further :—

Niṅgàñ nàpuñ sàri cando barabàri
Gateñ tuluc' tòkòe barabarik';

1. Bàhu dàurà = A specially large basket in which a bride is raised shoulder high at the time the bride-groom applies the red-paint (sindur) to her forehead, Dr. Campbell's Dictionary, p. 139.

41 Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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585 Then on the appointed day the bridegroom with the bariatko (friends, relatives and villagers) starts for the bride's house in the afternoon. When they reach the village of the bride, they wait outside the village in a field, and they are cordially welcomed by the bride's father and relatives. Dancing and music were already going on there, tum tums, madals and cymbals being beaten more than ever. The bride wearing a new cloth stands a little apart by the side of the bridegroom. [593] The bridegroom's younger brother, an important personage in the scene, stands on his left side and the whole party stands on the road just at the entrance to the village. A large crowd of village females, each bearing a brass basin containing a lump of coarse molasses and a lota filled with water stand there. [576] Upon the usual greetings being offered which consist of all bending down respectfully and touching the ankles of the happy group, the elder women step forward and each in turn taking a large pinch from the molasses thrusts it first into the bride's mouth with her fingers and thumb, after which she holds the lota of water for the bride to drink from and then pours a little of the water over her feet. The same ceremony is performed on the bridegroom and his brother. The dancing and music are kept up without cessation during this performance and many torches are also lit. [593] [604] After this, three women—the mother, the elder aunt and the younger aunt of the bride—come out of the crowd and take the bridegroom, his brother and the bride away with them into the village followed by other attendant girls and women who amuse themselves with cutting jokes on the blushing bride. All then proceed